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# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

VOL. I. No. 33

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1915

50c per year \$1 per year outside United States; 25c for 40 weeks in Clubs of 4 or more except in China.

## GREEDY "CHARITY" AIDS PROFIT MACHINE

By NORRIS HILLQUIT

THE large modern foundations, such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller and Russell Sage foundations are among the most significant recent developments. They are in the domain of philanthropy what the trusts are in the field of industry.

The three main stages in modern industrial development are successively represented by the individual employer, the corporation and the trust.

The three corresponding phases of philanthropic development are private aims, charity organizations and "foundations."

Up to the latter part of the past century, charity is entirely unorganized, and consists of promiscuous and indiscriminate aims-giving. Toward 1870, a general movement sprang up all over the country to organize charitable relief on a comprehensive and scientific basis.

Charity organizations societies are formed in all important cities, introducing methods of thorough investigation of applications for relief and aiming to restore economic independence to the objects of their benefactions. Charity becomes an efficient, businesslike pursuit.

Toward the end of the century, the large incorporated philanthropies begin to make their appearance. First in the field was Mr. Andrew Carnegie with his Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, followed by the somewhat similar but more munificent Carnegie Institution at Washington. The latter has an endowment fund of \$22,000,000, and is engaged in almost every conceivable branch of scientific research and sociological investigation.

### BIRTH OF FOUNDATIONS.

THE next few years saw the "birth" of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, with an endowment of \$15,000,000, to provide pensions for college professors, the Hero Fund of \$80,000,000 to reward deeds of courage and bravery, the Carnegie Peace Fund of \$10,000,000 to promote peace and unity among nations, the Library Fund to provide library buildings for cities, and finally, the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This is a sort of a holding company for the diverse philanthropic interests of Mr. Carnegie.

The corporation was given \$125,000,000, the income of which, in the language of the act of incorporation, is to be used in aiding institutions of learning, peace endowments, libraries, hero funds, etc.

The "Carnegie benefactions" were closely followed by those of John D. Rockefeller, whose first endowments on a sufficient scale, the Chicago University and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, were soon merged, in 1903, in the General Education Board, representing in expenditures and capital more than \$73,000,000, and only last year the Rockefeller Foundation was organized in New York with a capital of \$100,000,000.

The Russell Sage Foundation, likewise a New York corporation, was organized in 1907 with a capital of \$10,000,000, and many other funds, endowments and foundations of smaller scope, but similar general type, are in existence today.

The movement of philanthropic consolidation thus bears a striking resemblance to the movement of industrial consolidation of the end of the last century, and just as the first great American industrial combinations were the Oll Trust and the Steel Trust, so the first of the gigantic philanthropic trusts are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, the one so thoroughly saturated with oil and the other so firmly founded on steel.

The parallelism between the industrial growth and philanthropic development is furthermore not accidental. There is a true and intimate relation between these two fields of human activity.

The experience gained by capitalists in their industrial pursuits are naturally transferred by them to all other domains of their activity, and methods of organization, economy and efficiency are found to be equally applicable to all.

### HOW POVERTY GROWS.

THE trend of industrial growth affects, not only the methods, but also the substance and objects of philanthropy. In the earlier phases of the modern factory industry, poverty is considered an accident because unemployment is a rare and passing condition. Temporary pecuniary relief in the shape of alms seems to be all that the situation requires.

With the larger development of capitalism, the perfection of labor machinery, consolidation of plants, etc., unemployment becomes more wide-spread and lasting. Poverty assumes the dignity of a regular and general institution, and requires a large, systematic and sustained effort to cope with it. Hence the charity organization societies on a grand scale.

In very recent times, however, we have reached a stage in which poverty has grown to an extent beyond the cure or even help of philanthropy. The number of jobless workers mounts into millions; they are bound to exist much below the margin of subsistence. Even the millions in the great modern philanthropic funds could not feed, clothe or shelter them.

... the philanthropic foundations do not even attempt the task of relieving existing poverty. It is a notorious fact, a fact preying with meaning that none of the wealthy foundations expend any appreciable part of its funds in old-fashioned charity.

### DO NOT AIM TO RELIEVE POVERTY.

WHEN any vest of the huge funds concentrated in the modern "philanthropic" trusts is applicable to the relief of the widespread poverty, misery and distress of the American population, the branch of their activities is concerned with the improvement of the general conditions of existence and standard of life of the American worker.

If we analyze the large Carnegie "benefactions" we find but one item that may be considered of benefit to workingmen. This is represented by a fund of \$4,000,000 for injured and aged employees of the United States Steel Corporation. The amount was contributed by Mr. Carnegie as part of the general fund of \$12,000,000 created by the Steel Corporation for the purpose of providing pensions for disabled workers.

It is rather doubtful whether this contribution should not be more properly classed as a "business investment" than as a "benefaction."

### FIRST READ THIS

**Editor's Note.** — Here is the story unmasking the "foundations" of the nation's biggest wealth-magnates. It is told by the international secretary of the Socialist Party, also socialist national committee from New York, at the United States Industrial Commission, sitting at New York. Every American Socialist should read and study this story carefully. Then put this copy of your paper into the hands of your employer and see what he has to say to it, too. The pictures themselves of Rockefeller and Carnegie would soon crumble if we could get this story into "the brains of all the people." Now read the story!

But if we accept this particular fund as partaking of the latter characteristic, it must be borne in mind that it is practically the smallest item in the list of Mr. Carnegie's munificent endowments.

It is somewhat overshadowed by the item of \$8,000,000 for church organs and \$20,000,000 for the hero fund. Mr. Carnegie's remaining endowments are all devoted to educational purposes of one kind or another.

Mr. Rockefeller's earlier philanthropic endowments were entirely disassociated from charitable relief, and the Rockefeller Founda-

tion has reached international proportions. The United States does not offer them a sufficient market. The civilised countries of Europe likewise produce more than they need. The big American capitalist concerns want new markets, which must be created in the undeveloped parts of the globe. To become commercially valuable the besieged aborigines of the uncivilized countries must acquire two qualities — they must develop a taste for the ways and products of modern civilization, and they must learn to produce something valuable to give in exchange for our products.

This is why our capitalists so cheerfully endeavor missionaries to instruct the heathen in the ways of Christian civilization, including the wearing of decent apparel, preferably of American manufacture, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why they are now being forced to part with their favorite hook worm diseases.

This is the situation in a nutshell. The American industrial can well dispense with a million or so of the surplus working population of this country. Hence they are permitted to die of consumption, vocational diseases and preventable accidents. But the population of

ment of their prevailing practices, a definite view of the causes of industrial strife and unrest, a constructive social program.

### BUYING UP THE COLLEGE.

IF SUCH college teacher knows that his institution owes its life and existence to the generosity of a capitalist or a group of capitalists, that his salary and the position of the college president and trustees depend on such capitalists, he would be likely to be outspoken in opposition to the interests of the benefactor, even though his honest views would lead him to such opposition?

Quite likely the givers of generous college endowments rarely if ever place any restrictions upon the academic freedom of college teachers. Such restrictions are quite unnecessary. They arise automatically and unconsciously.

John D. Rockefeller has admitted before this commission that "there is a possible danger of reference (of such influence) to higher education."

"If the giver retains any kind of control, I think it is unwise," he added.

But the giver always retains some kind of

moral control, even when the gift is absolutely

the older Mr. Rockefeller had had some such plan under consideration for seven years. The industrial disturbances in Colorado impressed Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., "with the great need and public importance of finding an effective means of preventing such conflicts and caused him to urge a far-reaching study of industrial relations."

It would seem to the ordinary mind that the object that required immediate study and attention was the struggle in Colorado, which had assumed outrageous forms and monstrous dimensions, particularly as the Rockefeller interests were directly concerned.

But Mr. Rockefeller as stockholder and director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company did not feel called upon to do anything in the matter, and Mr. Rockefeller, a president of the foundation felt that "in view of the passion aroused in Colorado and the many divergent interests involved there the foundation itself should not interfere in that situation, but that it was of the utmost consequence that the root cause of that and similar disturbances should be ascertained and, if possible, removed, not only in Colorado, but elsewhere."

And so Mr. Rockefeller's employees in Colorado

social enlightenment and progress.

The great private foundations and the numerous endowments for educational purposes and for "social welfare" work and study have sprung up and have assumed enormous proportions, because the government has neglected to occupy and fill legitimate fields of functions. Nothing is more peculiarly a matter of general social concern than education and social betterment. In a well-regulated democracy these functions should be more jealously guarded as public or government prerogatives than the coining of money.

The colleges and universities of our country should be managed by the State and federal governments just as our common schools are, with ample provisions for democratic administration and full academic freedom.

The Commission on Industrial Relations should be made a permanent body with increased powers and means. It should be in a position to investigate on the spot and publish all industrial disturbances of any importance as soon as they appear in any part of the country; to adjust grievances if possible or to recommend such legislative enactment or executive action as the case may require. At the same time I believe that the powers of all corporations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation should be strictly defined and limited.

... broad powers which such foundations enjoy under their present charters constitute a serious menace to the community. Take the Rockefeller Foundation as an illustration. It is incorporated by a special act of the New York Legislature "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."

It may use such means to that end which from time to time shall seem expedient to its members or trustees." It may "invest or reinvest any principal, and deal with and expand the income and principal of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of the trustees will best promote its object."

The corporation has no membership, properly speaking. It consists of directors or trustees without a constituency. The number of such trustees may be determined by the corporation and may be increased or decreased at any time at the pleasure of the corporation. Under the terms of this act of incorporation the number of its members or trustees may legally and legitimately be reduced to Mr. John D. Rockefeller and his "personal staff."

**COULD FORTIFY BUSINESS INTERESTS.**

THESE persons would have the right to apply the entire principal and income of the vast fund for the direct purpose of fortifying their business interests or the interests of the industrial system which they represent, without restriction.

They might use the tremendous power inherent in such a large fortune to resist any public movement for greater social justice or greater industrial democracy, so long as they consider such movements as inimical to the "well-being of mankind," and it must be borne in mind that the trustees of the foundation are the only judges under their charter of what shall be considered as promoting the well-being of mankind.

There is hardly anything which such an immense sum of money concentrated in the hands of practically one individual and judiciously applied toward one particular object, could not accomplish. It is a tremendous power for good or a tremendous power for evil, and whether its overwhelming weight should be thrown into the scale of one or the other depends entirely on the inclination of a very small group of men, practically of one man.

We may well imagine a national election conducted on issues of vital national importance to the people, for instance, an issue over the government ownership of railroads or mines, or perhaps even a more general issue of industrial democracy, as against industrial feudalism. In this commission?

... the unscrupulous observer may seem that Mr. Rockefeller was not pleased with the methods of this commission, particularly its curiosity about the Colorado situation, and that he decided to push the government by pitting his hundred millions against the modest government appropriation, thus overshadowing and nullifying the work of this commission. It is to my mind one of the most arrogant challenges ever issued by an individual against the government and the people.

The social researches of the Rockefeller Foundation are not conducted along any fixed lines or by any definite methods. The entire undertaking has been placed in the hands of Mr. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor in Canada, who is to make the investigation as he sees fit.

Mr. King was selected by Mr. Rockefeller after careful consideration, and his attitude on problems of industrial relations, and particularly on the labor movement, must have considerable weight in determining the selection.

What was Mr. King's attitude on these subjects as far as Mr. Rockefeller knew at the time he engaged him? Mr. King had been Minister of Labor in Canada, and as such had been an ardent advocate of the Compulsory Arbitration Law.

If such a law had existed in Colorado, where the government is mostly in the hands of the mineowners, the workers would be reduced to a condition of virtual slavery, deprived of the only right that can protect them — the right to strike — and forced to work under any terms forced on them by their employers' government.

Another important subject on which Mr. King had expressed an opinion before his appointment was the strike situation in Colorado. This opinion was rendered a long time ago, read before the commission, but its meaning was not fully known.

It is true that Mr. Rockefeller could do all these things as an individual without incorporating a special foundation for that purpose. But the incorporation of the foundation "for the promotion of the well-being of mankind throughout the world" tends to give his activities a certain prestige and power, which as an individual he would not possess, and, furthermore, it relieved him from an annual tax of \$100,000.

As a matter of fact, it is theoretically conceivable that the vast fund of \$100,000,000 thus segregated in the foundation may for a large number of years be manipulated in productive investments as well as any other part of Mr. Rockefeller's foundation, and at some critical moment he turned back to the donor or his heirs in some indirect form sufficiently veiled to answer the requirements of human well-being.

### MUST CURB FOUNDATION.

IT IS argued in behalf of the foundation that the act of incorporation could be repealed or amended by the legislature at any time. But the answer to this is that such legislation is always difficult to secure and more difficult to execute in view of "vested rights" which may accrue in the meantime, and also that the question whether the act should be repealed or amended is raised to a later date, after the foundation has demonstrated by a flagrant act its hostility to public welfare, after the damage has been done.

Mr. King thus seems to have quite definite and well-formed views about the "Industrial relations" between capital and labor. He does not believe in "the shadow" of union recognition, and he considers industrial conditions normal when the labor market is over-supplied and the workers are eager to get jobs on any terms. The enigma is why he needs a few generations more to confirm his position.

### OPERATES AGAINST TRUE PROGRESS.

THE Rockefeller Foundation announced in August of last year that it had determined to engage in the field of social and economic research on a large scale.

It appears from the statements of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., before the commission that

### FRANK WALSH, CHAIRMAN OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, SAYS:

THE testimony at the New York hearing showed that the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation exercised no authority that did not come from John D. Rockefeller, Sr. The powers of the foundation virtually are unlimited, as far as its financial resources. They are powers which should challenge the attention of every thoughtful American citizen. Whether such powers can be permitted safely in the hands of any authority less than that of the government of the United States is a question which will form an important part of the commission's forthcoming report. I am inclined to believe these powers cannot be exercised under the American theory of government.

### CONCERN IN FOREIGN NATIONS.

ANOTHER striking feature of the large modern philanthropists is that they show a decided concern in the welfare of foreign nations and a corresponding indifference to the needs of their own countrymen.

As already noticed the only charitable work on a large scale undertaken by the Rockefeller Foundation was to send shiploads of food for the relief of the war sufferers in Belgium. It was a good deed, and I would like to criticize it in the spirit of a "sociological" laboratory.

Just as many large manufacturing establish-

ments maintain experimental laboratories for

technical scientific research to aid them with their business, just so do the large financial and business interests now begin establishing what we may term "sociological laboratories" to support their rule.

The best form of philanthropy is the investment of money in the building up of productive industry," said Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., testifying before this commission, and that characterizes the spirit of modern capitalist "benevolence" admirably.

Perhaps an even more insidious influence over college teachers is exercised by Mr. Carnegie's pension system. The average college professor is a very much underpaid man. As a rule, he has not been able to lay aside anything substantial against the needs of the most trying and helpless period of his life — old age, or to make any provisions for the care of his family in case of death.

Neither the government nor the college administration come to his relief. It is Mr. Carnegie's pension system. The average college professor is a very much underpaid man. As a rule, he has not been able to lay aside anything substantial against the needs of the most trying and helpless period of his life — old age, or to make any provisions for the care of his family in case of death.

THE education of the people, from the ele-

mentary schools to the universities, is the most important social function of the community. It determines the kind of mankind which we shall have in the future. Nothing is more dangerous with menace to the progress and democracy of this country than a subsidized and biased education.

The great industrial corporations of our time have robbed the people of their economic independence. They are the instruments of such assault as the intellectual independence of this country, and their philanthropic endowments and foundations are the instruments of such assault.

Under the first head must be classed the endowments of institutions of learning, such as the University of Chicago, institutions for scientific research such as the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Carnegie Institute at Washington and the Carnegie libraries, endowments for scholarships to persons engaged in scientific research and for pensions to college teachers.

Under the heading of social reform work, we must class institutions such as the Russell Sage Foundation, the Carnegie peace endowments and hero funds as well as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has recently embarked in the field of industrial and social relations.

As to the social effects of these foundations, the same may be said about the industrial effects of the trusts. They have all the advantages of systematic and large-scale operation and all the evils effects of individualism and anarchism, control and management, and these dangers become more acute as the foundations grow in size, scope and power.

But even more fatal from the point of view of social desirability are the so-called "social research" activities of the foundations, their investigations into social conditions and publications of results. This statement is not meant as a criticism of the work that has so far been done by the Russell Sage Foundation, for that has in my opinion, been quite good on the whole.

It is meant as an expression of the potential danger which lies in such private enterprises, particularly if supported by unlimited means and undertaken by persons actively engaged in gigantic financial and industrial enterprises.

All the objections which may be raised against similar control of educational institutions apply with the same force to the control of social research by moneyed interests. But a number of new and stronger objections must be added.

The investigator in the field of natural science may approach the subject of his study without bias and as a rule his conclusions will not clash with any interest. But the investigator of social relations, of industrial relations, and particularly in the labor movement, must be guided by the politically chosen commission, but its meaning was not fully known.

## The American Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States

J. L. ENDAHL, Editor  
WALTER LANFERSIEK, Business Mgr.  
RALPH KOENGOLD, Circulation Mgr.  
RYAN WALKER, AdvertisingTHE AMERICAN SOCIALIST  
Party National Office, 803 West Madison  
Street, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the Post Office, Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

BUREAU RATES: One copy, \$1.00;  
25 copies, \$2.00; 50 copies, \$2.50;  
75 copies, \$3.00; 100 copies,  
\$3.50; 250 copies, \$8.00; 500 copies,  
\$12.00; 1,000 copies, \$15.00.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, 1915.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here is all the week's news worth being folded down for workers to do every night for Socialists to do now have time to read the daily capitalist press.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

Democratic President Wilson's ship purchase bill through house of representatives. Vote, 215 to 121.

David E. Shantz, "we," republican, showed up in Illinois, after work, to "doodled" longest in state legislative history in America.

All wing of British navy makes another small step. United States will be able to avoid consequences of trade war be

tween Germany and Great Britain.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

Two ships destroyed as Germans establish military war zone about Great Britain.

Government officials at Washington fear United States has reached breaking point. Germans are sending ships and armaments, sales of arms to allies demands in German note opposed by United States.

Woman suffrage rejected by Indians

sens.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

Harry Chandler, millionaire land owner and son-in-law of Harrison Gray Oss, owner of the Los Angeles Times, indicated on charge of having conspired to violate neutrality of United States by inducing Mexico to win benefits for big cattle companies.

Dr. Arthur T. Hadley in address to Yale students poor men to keep out of politics.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

States of the Panama-Pacific Exposition open to the world of the Pan-Pacific, Germany and Austria complete to United States. Subsidies for England are being built here.

Dedicated Greece is waiting for sufficient opportunity to join allies in European war.

Anti-prohibition passes Montana state senate.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

Gates of the Panama-Pacific Exposition open to the world of the Pan-Pacific, Germany and Austria complete to United States. Subsidies for England are being built here.

British navy is waiting for sufficient opportunity to join allies in European war.

Anti-prohibition passes Montana state senate.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

British transports carrying troops to Russia reported destroyed, together with its convoy. Norwegian press encodes by destruction of Norse vessel.

When was Lynch'd Pleasant Hill, Mo. by mob. Hung in fire bell tower above city hall.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

Embargo against all shipments may be come weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus

ians and taken 100,000 prisoners.

Socialist Assemblyman James Vint, in the Wisconsin legislature has introduced a constitutional amendment permitting the state to take over grain elevators and cold storage ware houses.

Socialist Assemblyman Frank Metcalf, in the Wisconsin legislature has introduced a bill for an eight hour law for all but agricultural laborers, the maximum for those being made 10 hours.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

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Germans reported to have defeated Rus

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

Embargo against all shipments may be come weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

Embargo against all shipments may be come weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus

ians and taken 100,000 prisoners.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

Embargo against all shipments may be come weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus

ians and taken 100,000 prisoners.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

Turks kill hundreds of Armenians. Demands people shot and houses burned. British naval committee votes for 21 submarines.

Socialist peace meetings in Italy broken up.

Embargo against all shipments may be come weapon of the United States.

Germans reported to have defeated Rus

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## This Week's Editorial From Socialist Press

AN INCOMPLETE PROPOSAL  
(From The Milwaukee Leader.)

George W. Perkins, who fought with Roosevelt at Armageddon, is serving as chairman of Mayor Mitchell's unemployment committee in New York. There are 500,000 unemployed in New York. The distress among the poor is even greater than the suffering of the civil population in London, Paris or Berlin.

When the commission was appointed by Mayor Mitchell, Amos Albin expressed the opinion that it was futile to expect men such as Perkins and Gary, who are chief among the beneficiaries of a system based on the exploitation of labor and natural resources, to propose measures that will strike at the root of the unemployed problem.

The committee has made its report. It suggests that congress might relieve the distress of the unemployed and poor by placing an embargo upon wheat. An embargo by throwing an immense surplus of wheat on the market, would cheapen it. But Mr. Perkins and his associates propose no measures by which the unemployed could procure the means to buy bread.

One of the first essentials in dealing with an unemployed problem we should think would be to find employment for the unemployed. A policy which would be calculated to restrict growing foodstuffs in the United States to home consumption as a temporary expedient is not without its merits, but unless it should be supplemented with measures to place the food supply at the disposal of those who need it, the benefits, we may believe, would accrue to speculators rather than to the poor and unemployed.

The British navy is doing all that it can to place a partial embargo upon our foodstuffs by cutting off Germany's supplies, but the fact that wheat is \$1.50 instead of \$2 a bushel, which it undoubtedly would be if the Germans and Austrians were able to replenish their supplies, has not apparently enabled the millions of unemployed in the United States to satisfy their hunger. We doubt if the submarine be able to complete the embargo, if the unemployed would be any better off.

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THIS COLUMN RECORDS  
THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF  
OUR SUB HUSTLERS  
FROM WEEK TO WEEK

Last week ..... 51,456  
Now ..... 1,046

On ..... 50,410  
This week ..... 51,456  
Gain ..... 221

"It is by persistent work that great monuments are built," said the Preacher, Zola.

American Socialist sub-hustlers evidently have the determination to make their paper a great monument to the cause of Socialism, for they are quietly, steadfastly, persistently building.

There are doubtless many papers in the country which can show larger jumps in circulation than this paper, but we doubt whether there is any paper in the country that can show a more steady and persistent increase.

The comrades have taken hold splendidly of the volunteer campaign for The American Socialist. In this issue you will again find a volunteer blank. Make good use of it.

BE A VOLUNTEER.

ROLL OF HONOR

"The American Socialist is what we need. I am boasting for it every chance I get." Arthur H. Hansen, East St. Louis, Ill.

Miss Pfeiffer, Fremont, Neb., attends our subscription for 2 years in order to help us climb to the 75,000 mark.

"Let us push the circulation to 100,000," says Harvey W. Perkins, in a recent letter to the editor.

Writing as success, J. E. Blaser, Eugene, Oregon sends us a list of 4.

Miss Lila, Sandusky, Ohio orders a bunch of sub-cards. He will order still more when he gets his paper free of charge to the Henry Ford Friends.

John W. Bowers, Salt Lake City, Utah, an old hustler for the party paper, writes this week with the names of 15 comrades.

"I am much pleased with the constant and rapid improvement of The American Socialist and I am very much satisfied in my own mind that from every point of view it will meet success. The party which has it other than a party owned press could hardly be better." Artur Pfeiffer, St. Paul, Minn.

"All can do something for The American Socialist. Let each do all that he can. This comrade orders 50 worth of cards."

"I have been a Socialist for a number of years. The American Socialist will have the largest circulation of any political paper in the country. It is just great. We are making good." G. H. Doe, Milwaukee, Wis., is one of our regular subscribers and supporters.

"Socialism is coming fast. The work of the Socialists is great. I am glad to see the American Socialist has. The comrades here are doing a great work. I don't see why every comrade cannot do the same." W. E. Bartlett, St. Paul, Minn.

"Your paper is good. The bill, the article, the editorials, the cartoons, the pictures, the news. There were a few more on the news page, but the rest was good and as falling off the water-wagon. I don't see why every comrade cannot do the same." W. E. Bartlett, St. Paul, Minn.

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"New members will receive The American Socialist. We will place in the news columns on the mailing list." The American Socialist.

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